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ABSTRACT

This report surveys the vocational education system, work experience programs, and job training programs for youths in Chicago. The report is organized in five sections. It begins with a brief review of the socioeconomic context that affects youth employment in the city of Chicago. Section 2 examines vocational training in the Chicago public schools. Data on enrollment, curriculum, funding, and dropout rates are followed by a discussion of major policy issues on placement, sex equity, and curricular response to changes in the job market. The third and fourth sections look at supplemental job training programs outside the regular classroom settings. The role of nonprofit organizations is discussed, using information from 15 major organizations. The pivotal role of the federal Job Training Partnership Act programs is examined closely. The analysis includes a look at the representation of disadvantaged groups in these programs, the kinds of training offered, the level of funding, and placement-earnings outcomes. The concluding section offers preliminary assessment of the effectiveness of these work-related programs in fostering integration of disadvantaged youths into the labor market. Data for these analyses were collected from a variety of sources, such as program records, school records, state and city records, surveys, and personal contacts. Twenty-eight references are included. (KC)

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Mapping Work-Related Education System for Youths in Chicago

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Mapping Key Components of the Job Training System for Youths

The city of Chicago poses a major challenge to work-related policy for youths. Two-thirds of the public school students come from families that fall below the poverty level. Half the class that enters the ninth grade this year will drop out of school before it reaches grade 12. A majority of youths in the city lack basic academic skills and an even greater number of them do not have access to the job market outside of their ghetto neighborhoods. Needless to say, these inner city youths have yet to benefit from the economic recovery of the mid 1980s. The challenge of job training policy for inner city youths is to overcome these severe barriers and facilitate the transition from school, and often from street, to work. The extent to which the work-related education system has effectively dealt with these complicated issues in Chicago is the subject of this report.

This report makes a preliminary effort towards the "mapping" of the work-related education system as it now exists in the city of Chicago. We will assess both governmental and nongovernmental efforts in job training for youths, those who are 14 - 21 years old. Our study has paid particular attention to those components of the system that are providing services to various disadvantaged groups. Three sets of programs are clearly important. They are (1) vocational education in the regular classroom settings, (2) job training offered in the non-profit sector, and (3) programs supported by the federally-funded Job Training Partnership Act. Together, these programs provide over 120,000 job training opportunities for the city's 400,000 youths

between the ages of 14 and 21. Through training, youths can benefit from learning about occupational skills and the culture of the work place, their own individual responsibilities at work, and the career ladder of an occupation and how they might step up that ladder. In this introductory section, we will present a summary of our key findings.

Vocational Training in Public Schools. First, vocational training within the regular classroom setting constitutes the most important component in the work-related education system. We will pay particular attention to vocational education within the Chicago public schools. Over 86,000 public high school students are enrolled in scores of occupational preparation programs, where equal emphasis is placed on both specialty skills and basic academic ability.

The vocational programs in Chicago public schools primarily are serving minorities who come from low-income families. Funding for these programs mainly come from local taxes, with supplemental aid from both the state and federal sources. Our analysis of district-wide enrollment data and a close examination of five major vocational high schools suggest that dropout rates among vocational students are generally lower than their peers in most neighborhood schools. These differences are due in part to stricter admissions policy, self-selection on the part of students, and the prospect for entry-level jobs after the completion of occupational training.

We have also gathered information on post-secondary job training programs that are administered by governmental

institutions. A preliminary survey on vocational offerings in several major Catholic high schools has also been conducted. However, lesser attention will be paid to nonpublic schools for two reasons. First, their administrative fragmentation makes data collection and comparison very difficult. Unlike their public counterparts, these non-public institutions are highly decentralized, with autonomy over curriculum and budgetary matters. For example, Chicago has 467 schools operated by over a dozen religious denominations and scores of independent boards. Second, nonpublic schools have a low representation of low-income students. According to the state-wide count in Illinois, for example, low-income students constitute only around 10 percent of total nonpublic school enrollment. Because our major objective is to identify programs for the disadvantaged, a focus on government-operated vocational programs seems more appropriate.

Classroom training can have an impact on students as long as they do not dropout from schools. But with an alarmingly high school drop-out rate approaching 50 percent of total enrollment, supplemental work-related training programs play a critical role. Our report will examine two such supplemental sets of training programs for disadvantaged youths. These nongovernmental and governmental activities play a critical role in helping inner-city youths to leave the streets and enter the work force.

Non-Profit Sector Role. The non-profit sector in Chicago offers a wide array of youth training programs. Based on our survey of over 20 major non-profit organizations in Chicago, we find that only a few operate without financial support from federal job training programs. Most non-profit organizations

receive substantial federal support in their youth and adult training projects. Indeed, disadvantaged youths have received more training services in organizations that not only have programs targeted on youths but also have obtained federal job training funds.

The heavy dependence on federal funds by non-profit organizations in youth training programs suggests a pivotal federal role. In the absence of federal support, private and local/state governmental contributions are far from sufficient in maintaining the current efforts to help disadvantaged youths moving from schools, and often from streets, to work.

Federal Job-Training Policy. The second set of supplemental programs that our study focuses on is the major federal job training programs under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). The city of Chicago has contracted with over 120 service-provider groups to operate job training programs throughout the city. We have conducted a systematic analysis of program participants, types of training, and placement-earnings outcomes in Chicago JTPA projects. Of the over 40,000 participants in these training programs, about 25,000 youths are enrolled in the Title IIB summer programs that have resulted in very low placement rates. Seventy-eight percent of the latter are currently attending high schools during the academic year, while only 7 percent are school dropouts.

In the Title IIA programs, where training is more closely tied to job market demands, youths represent only 57 percent of all participants. Further, the extent to which Title IIA

programs have targeted on disadvantaged youths is tempered by administrative guidelines that emphasize cost-efficiency in placement outcomes. Consequently, although these programs are designed to address the needs of various disadvantaged groups, they turn out serving a disproportionate number of "job ready" individuals, including high school graduates and skilled workers who are temporarily out of work. Four major disadvantaged groups - namely, the school dropouts, the handicapped, persons with limited English proficiency, and teenage parents are underrepresented participants in these federally-funded programs. In addition, the current JTPA programs tend to undermine the importance of basic academic skills because these classroom activities take a longer time to achieve the level of "job readiness."

Organization of the Report. This report will consist of five sections. We shall begin with a brief review of the socio-economic context that affects youth employment in the city of Chicago. Then, we will examine vocational training in the Chicago public schools. Our presentation of data on enrollment, curriculum, funding, and dropout rates will be followed by a discussion of major policy issues on placement, sex equity, and curricular response to changes in job market.

The third and the fourth sections will look at supplemental job training programs outside of the regular classroom settings. The role of non-profit organizations will be discussed, using the more detailed information that we have gathered from 15 major organizations. We shall differentiate non-profit organizations in terms of two dimensions, namely, the extent to which these

programs have a primary focus on youths and the degree to which they are dependent on federal funding. Further, the privotal role of the federal JTPA programs requires close examination. Our analysis includes a look at the representation of disadvantaged groups in these programs, the kinds of training offered, the level of funding, and placement-earnings outcomes. The concluding section offers preliminary assessment on the effectiveness of these work-related programs in fostering integration of disadvantaged youths into the labor market.

Our analyses are based on data collected from a variety of sources in July, August, and November 1988. Both the school district and the service delivery district of the federal JTPA programs have an authority over the same jurisdiction as that of the Chicago city government. This overlapping in jurisdictional boundary allows us to assess the extent to which various training programs have served the disadvantaged. We have interviewed numerous administrators in vocational and job training areas at both the city and the state levels. Information on vocational education in Chicago public schools has been collected from the district's central office, the state education board, and community-based sources. We also conducted preliminary surveys on vocational offerings in several major Catholic high schools. Extensive data on the implementation of federal job training programs has been collected from a variety of sources, including the state administering agency, the Mayor's Office on Employment and Training, U.S. Congressional hearings, and community-based service providers. In addition, we contacted over twenty major

non-profit organizations as well as labor and business groups for information on their employment training projects.

Job Training Challenge in Chicago

Employment opportunities are increasingly limited for Chicago youths. Many of the new jobs are not located within the city limits. The nearby Du Page County, for example, is rated among the top five fastest growing counties in the nation. The City of Chicago, however, has continued to suffer from a shrinking base in manufacturing, retail trade, services, and finance, insurance and real estate.

The overall job base in Chicago has continued to shrink since the 1960s. The total number of jobs in 1980 was only half of that in 1960. Job loss occurred fairly rapidly during the 1960s, when the city's total number of persons employed was reduced from 2.5 million to 1.4 million. Job reduction has since slowed down. By 1980, there were less than 1.3 million jobs held in the city.

In this context of a declining job base, city youths have to compete very hard for the few remaining semi-skilled, entry-level openings. To be sure, some occupations have actually increased their job share. But most of these require more intense and specialized training, which is not readily available to youths. For example, the professional and technical as well as the managerial-administrative categories increased from 19.2 percent to 22.6 percent of total employment between 1960 and 1980. At the same time, most occupations that require a low- or moderate-

level of skills training remain fairly stable in their job share. These include sales, clericals, operatives and laborers. Together, these constitute over 50 percent of all jobs in 1980. Service is the only category that has gone up significantly, from less than 10 percent in 1960 to over 14 percent in 1980. However, the craftsman and foreman categories have suffered a loss from 14 percent to less than 10 percent during the same period. In other words, as total employment decreases, the number of jobs that require low and moderate levels of skills training becomes smaller.

Youths in Chicago are further constrained by the fact that the city's sheer size and its many predominantly minority neighborhoods have virtually confined the disadvantaged youths to look for jobs within the city. In 1980 there were 320,778 persons between the age of 16 and 21 in Chicago. Of this youth population, 47 percent were black, 42 percent were white, and 17 percent were Hispanics. However, the incidence of poverty is not evenly distributed among the three racial groups. Of the 74,410 youths that fell below the poverty line, 67 percent were black, 21 percent white, and 18 percent Hispanics. The economic plight of black youths is even worse in female-headed households. Of the 225,830 persons who were under 25 years old in all poor female-headed households, blacks constituted 79.6 percent. Racial discrimination on the part of some suburban employers, along with the lack of convenient transportation, creates additional barriers against the integration of inner-city youths to the huge metropolitan labor market.

Given the concentration of poverty in the minority population, it is not surprising to find that joblessness is unevenly distributed among racial and age groups in Chicago. Minority youths, in both economic good and bad times, have continued to suffer from high unemployment rates. In contrast, white adults continue to maintain the lowest level of unemployment over the years. As Table 1 shows, minority unemployment for all age groups is usually two-and-a-half times that of the white groups. In the 1980s, six out of ten minority youths (i.e. 16 - 19 years old) are unemployed, while about two out of ten white youths are without a job. Similar trends are found in labor force participation. Table 1 shows the severity of work force withdrawal among minority teenagers. Even in the mid 1980s, when the overall unemployment rate for the nation's work force is around 5 percent, less than 40 percent of minority teenagers in Chicago actively participate in the labor pool.

Job Training in Regular Classroom Settings

Given the severity of the economic plight of city youths, job training programs in both governmental and non-governmental sectors can play a critical role. Through these training activities, youths can be motivated to complete basic academic courses, develop career-oriented aspirations, and acquire entry-level skills to improve their employment prospects. In this section, we shall look at vocational programs in regular classroom settings, which constitute the major component of a work-related education system in Chicago.

A Three-Tiered Structure. Vocational programs can be

differentiated as a three-tiered arrangement in Chicago's public educational system. First, pre-occupational courses are available to virtually every 9th and 10th grader. Second, occupational training is offered at the 11th and 12th grades. In these first two tiers, vocationally-oriented students are required to fulfill all basic academic requirements. Chicago vocational high schools have placed at least an equal, if not a greater, emphasis on academic training. Third, post-secondary institutions provide a variety of advanced technical instruction.

At the 9th and 10th grades in all public high schools, students can take vocational orientation courses that will introduce them to an array of occupations. Specific skills will not be taught until the 11th and 12th grades, where the vocational curriculum is designed to equip students with skills for "entry level" jobs in a particular trade. For example, 11th and 12th graders in welding will learn vertical and horizontal welding as well as plumbing and pipefitting in machine shops.

In this regard, it should be noted that our preliminary survey of 12 Catholic high schools suggests that vocational offerings in these schools are not as extensive as those in public schools. Unlike their public counterparts, Catholic schools do not follow a well-structured vocational curriculum. Each school defines its own set of vocational courses. Enrollment in these programs are generally limited and are concentrated in accounting, business, and data processing. An overwhelming number of these students are college bound. In contrast, a majority of the vocationally trained students in

public schools leave for the job market after graduation.

The regular vocational high schools, in other words, do not prepare students for more advanced technical training. For the few students who want to pursue more advanced training, they will have to attend classes outside of regular high schools. They can either enroll in City Colleges or attend the Washburn Trade School. The City Colleges of Chicago offer a broad range of skills training and have gained a reputation through their newly instituted Academy of Finance, in which business corporations are actively involved in placing trainees in financial services. The Washburn school, which accepts adults, is substantially financed by the Chicago school district. In this section, we shall pay particular attention to vocational programs in public schools where the majority of city youths are enrolled.

Vocational Enrollment in Chicago District. The vocational programs in Chicago public schools primarily are serving minorities who come from low-income families. As Table 2 shows, about 50 percent and 60 percent of the enrollment at the pre-occupational level and the occupational level respectively are economically disadvantaged youths. However, only one in ten is handicapped, as suggested in Table 2. Even fewer Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, one in twenty at the 11th and 12th grades, are enrolled in these courses.

Over 60 percent of the 86,578 students in vocational programs are blacks, with female slightly exceeding male students. The rest of the student body is roughly divided between the white and the Hispanic groups.

In occupational training at the 11th and 12th grades,

enrollment patterns differ by race and gender. Black female students, which make up the largest enrollment group, are particularly well represented in secretarial courses, marketing and sales, personal services, health occupations, and home economics. The black male enrollment is particularly high in marketing and sales and various blue-collar technical programs, such as construction, precision production, and mechanics. Blacks in general are overrepresented in the occupational programs for the handicapped, virtually all of these are now mainstreamed with non-handicapped students in regular classes.

Although Hispanics maintain only a moderate rate of participation in the vocational curricula, Hispanic female youths are most likely to take courses in secretarial skills and home economics. Hispanic male teenagers are fairly well-represented in the industrial shop programs. Both white female and male students are more likely to concentrate in classes in office skills, marketing/sales, and precision production.

Instructional Staffing Patterns. There are about 1,600 full-time teachers providing instructional services in 14 major vocational areas in Chicago public high schools. About 70% of these are certified teachers. Most of these staff are concentrated in secretarial business, precision production, programs for the handicapped, home economics, construction, and mechanics. Indeed, as Table 3 suggests, these six career fields account for almost 90 percent of all teachers.

Teachers play an important role in shaping the career goals of vocational students. Minority instructors, in particular, are

often said to have served as a role model for their minority students. We have thus looked at the instructional staffing patterns in Chicago vocational programs. Distribution of teachers in terms of gender and race is clearly uneven. These staffing patterns are generally consistent with the enrollment characteristics in major areas, as discussed above. White male and black female teachers represent over 60 percent of the instructional staff. As Table 3 indicates, white male teachers seem to dominate in the more traditional blue-collar areas that involve advanced technical training. These include construction, mechanics, and precision production. They are also well represented in agriculture, business management, marketing, and secretarial business. Black female instructors, which make up the second largest group, maintain a strong presence in the white-collar semi-skilled areas. The best examples are occupational homemaking, home economics, personal services, health occupations, and sales/marketing.

Black male and white female teachers together make up only one-third of the vocational instructional force. The former is clearly predominant in the blue-collar technical skill programs, while the latter is fairly evenly distributed among white-collar office-type trades.

Notably absent in many trade areas are the Hispanics. Altogether, there are only 31 Hispanic teachers in the entire vocational program in the Chicago school district. This represents less than 2 percent of the total instructional staff. This low level of participation becomes even more significant in light of the fact that Hispanics make up 17 percent of the

vocational enrollment.

Reliance on Local Revenues. Vocational education in Chicago schools is predominantly funded by local revenues. Of the total $43.8 million spent on vocational training in high schools during 1987-1988, local contributions accounted for 76.7 percent. Federal aid through the VEA formula and projects amounted to 9.8 percent and state subsidies made up 13.5 percent of the appropriations. These differences in fiscal support are summarized in Table 4.

Fiscal burden on the district can be further illuminated when one takes into consideration total state and federal aid to Chicago schools. State aid for vocational education, which is $5.9 million in 1987-88, amounts to less than 1 percent of total state aid to Chicago schools. Similarly, the $4.3 million federal vocational funds represents only 2 percent of total federal aid to the district. On the contrary, the district spends one of every twenty dollars of its own revenues on occupational training.

In short, financing of vocational programs remains primarily a local responsibility. These substantial local contributions can be justified from an economic perspective (Peterson, Rabe, and Wong, 1986). These programs are often perceived as economically sound for the local jurisdiction because vocationally-trained graduates would meet the labor demands of businesses. To be sure, vocational training is beneficial to students as well. In the context of a slow growth economy within the city of Chicago, students who acquire both basic and

specialty skills may become more competitive in entry-level employment. Because vocational students are increasingly coming from low-income inner-city families, an increase in local resources as well as intergovernmental aid for Chicago vocational programs is likely to facilitate a better link between poor students and getting hired.

Heavy reliance on local revenues also means program control in the hands of the Chicago School Board. Two consequences follow. To make sure that no constituency groups are neglected, the school administration has distributed vocational funds fairly evenly among all high schools. Diffusion of funds means that pre-occupational programs in the 9th and 10th grades are not adequately endowed. For example, these programs do not offer machine shop training because of the lack of equipment and supplies. Much of the burden to train vocational students, therefore, rests on the few vocational high schools at the 11th and 12th grades. The best these schools can accomplish is to offer adequate entry-level job training for juniors and seniors.

Moreover, whether vocational programs can remain a priority in the current politically charged context in Chicago schools is at issue (Chicago Tribune, May 1988). Administrators have expressed concerns about the Board's traditionally lukewarm support for vocational programs. At a time when the Board is under an enormous amount of political pressure to improve school performance, members of the Board are said to have paid primary attention to the 400 elementary schools. Some vocational administrators are worried that vocational programs will not compete well with elementary schools for funding in the near

future.

Similarities and Differences Among Schools. Within the Chicago school system, comprehensive vocational training is available in seven high schools. Each offers a similarly broad range of courses in industrial training, including machine shop operation, sheet metal, auto-repair, and wood cutting. Selective admissions, with varying levels of tough standards, are practiced by each of these schools. In general, entering students are required to achieve basic academic performance at their grade level. In recent years, vocational schools have placed greater emphasis on basic skills. Administrators proudly mentioned that the newly installed Computerized Integration Instruction has allowed students to improve their skills simultaneously in both the basics and the technical areas.

To be sure, there are significant differences among these institutions. Two schools are clearly serving college bound students. Lane Technical on the north side and Linblom Technical on the south side are most selective in their admissions. Their main objective is to prepare students to go on to college-level training. Lane Technical, which is the oldest vocational school and has an enrollment of about 4,000, has maintained a national reputation in engineering and sophisticated graphic arts. A majority of graduates from these two programs go directly to four-year engineering schools. It is thus not surprising that Lane Technical has established the best alumni network, which often provides crucial support for student placement in entry-level jobs.

Five schools prepare students for a vocational career after they leave school. The Chicago Vocational School (CVS), has by far the largest and the best physical facilities. The school's spacious building complex is sometimes referred to as "The Palace." With an enrollment of 3,500, the CVS has long established a reputation in the Aviation program, which dated back to the 1940s when the US Navy trained its aviation mechanics on the school premise. In part with the help of federal and state subsidies, the school has virtually updated all its basic curriculum. For example, drafting courses are now computerized with all kinds of software packages.

The other four schools, though paled in their technological set-ups when compared with CVS, have their unique roles to play. A somewhat less glamorous aviation program is available at Dunbar. Since the 1960s, Dunbar has primarily served the inner-city black community. Prosser High on the city's northwest side has developed a good reputation in building maintenance courses. The westside's Westinghouse offers the city's most elaborate cosmetology program. Simeon is perhaps the only vocational school that lacks a unique offering of its own. But the school nonetheless offers a wide range of basic vocational training for a citywide pool of prospective students. In addition, students who want to pursue a career in business and commerce can enroll in the two-year Jones Commercial High south of Downtown.

High Level of Black Participation. These differences among vocational schools notwithstanding, there are signficant similarities. As Table 5 shows, the five vocational schools are primarily serving blacks. Indeed, four of the five have a

student body that is all black. Even in Prosser, where no blacks were admitted to its day programs until the mid 1960s, white students are now a minority. These racial figures are substantially different from the citywide statistics, where blacks constitute about 60% of the student body. From these data at the individual school level, one can infer that vocational programs, particularly those that prepare students to enter the job market when they leave school, are serving as important channels through which minority youths participate in the competitive labor market.

Lower Dropout Rates. Vocational students are also different from their citywide peers in one important aspect. They are less likely to drop out from their schools. The higher retention rates in these schools are due in part to the more selective admissions policy that draws students who have met basic academic standards. Students who enroll in these programs are also more likely to have been self-motivated toward school completion. While the citywide high school completion rate stands at around 47 percent, about 60 percent to 65 percent of the vocational students stay through completion, as suggested in Table 6. Westinghouse, in particular, has maintained a consistently high retention rate. Indeed, at least 27 neighborhood high schools, or 42 percent of all high schools in the city, are plagued with a much worse dropout rate than any of these five vocational schools.

The lower dropout rates in vocational high schools also result in a much lower cost per graduating senior than that of

their peers at the citywide level. While a vocationally trained senior in general cost less than $20,000 in a four-year period, the district-wide figure is almost twice as much, as shown in Table 7. These figures may even suggest that vocational training may serve as an effective tool to combat the problem of high school dropouts in central cities.

Issues on Program Effectiveness

Beyond Entry-Level Training. Public schools do not have the resources to provide training beyond the entry-level. Yet students who have acquired advanced skills are clearly in a more advantageous position in searching for jobs in Chicago, where an increasing number of entry-level jobs requires both basic academic preparation and more intense training in a specialty area (such as data processing and accounting). To meet these persistent market challenges, the Chicago school district has signed contracts with community colleges which enable high school students to take courses from these post-secondary institutions. In addition, the school district offers advanced training in a number of trade areas in its Washburn Trade School.

Since 1919 the Washburn Trade School has provided the best apprenticeship programs for youths and adults in the city of Chicago. The school, strictly speaking, is not administered by the school district, although the Chicago Board of Education reimburses the school for program expense. Training programs in each trade area are governed by a Joint Apprenticeship Training Committee (JATC), which is represented by local employers and unions in the particular trade. The JATC has the authority to

define the kinds of apprenticeships offered in the school, set admissions policy, and determine the curriculum. Employers sign contracts with the school and send employees to enroll in the apprenticeship programs once a week. The training usually takes four years.

Washburn has long adopted a careful screening process. Trainees are admitted to apprenticeships after they have completed high school, attained certain basic academic and aptitude standards, and successfully passed an oral interview. As a result of its highly selective admissions policy and its administrative autonomy, the school has not maintained a fair representation for minority groups and females. According to a 1983 report on Washburn's most established apprenticeships in eight construction trades, less than 20 percent of the 2,700 participants were minorities and only 3 percent were females (Chicago Reporter, May 1983; Chicago Urban League, 1986). Minority representation was more substantial among dry wall tapers, sheet metal workers, machinists, and carpenters. Yet, minority groups are underrepresented by electricians, pipefitters, painters, and sign and pictorial painters. Such uneven enrollment patterns, indicative of weak minority and female representation in local construction unions, occurred at a time when the city benefited from a construction boom. Indeed, between 1979 and 1986, Chicago had 315 major real estate construction projects that cost almost $6 billion (The Civic Committee, 1987). These new opportunities are not likely to be widely distributed to female and minority groups given the

underrepresentation of these groups in the city's major apprenticeship programs.

Sex Equity. Sex stereotyping in vocational training remains a problem. Gender differences in enrollment patterns between blue-collar technical trades and office management are substantial, as discussed above. The school district has made new efforts to break down sex inequity in key vocational areas. Besides the regular workshops for counselors and administrators, the district now focuses on eighth graders. By intervening at a time when girls in the 8th grade are making career training choices, administrators hope that students will be encouraged to sign up for more traditional areas. In this regard, school administrators are under political pressure from advocacy groups in particular trade areas. For example, the Chicago Women in Trades, an activist group that was recently involved in a law suit against major construction firms for sex discrimination over contracts on repairing the Dan Ryan Expressway, is persistent in its efforts to recruit more female students in construction training (Also see Chicago Tribune, August 15, 1988).

Improving Market Contacts. Chicago schools have developed a number of mechanisms that would ease the transition from school to work for their students. Among the most popular strategies are the seven work-study programs that enable 11th and 12th graders to earn credits for on-the-job training (OJT). The Cooperative Distributive Education Training Program helps place students in a variety of jobs in retail and wholesale services, and office occupations. Student trainees spend their mornings in classrooms and the afternoons or evenings in OJT during the

entire academic year. They are paid at the standard entry-level wages.

These work-study programs, some of which were started as early as the 1950s and the 1960s (see Havighurst, 1964), now enroll over 7,600 juniors and seniors in vocational as well as comprehensive high schools throughout the city. Numerous major firms regularly provide opportunities. Arthur Anderson, a major accounting firm, hires 65 student trainees this year. Students in OJTs are better able to identify their career interests. Many have "matured . . . [and] learned how to meet deadlines and deal with different personalities." (Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1988) These internships have also helped college-bounds to decide on their majors in their college education.

Job Placement. The school district has not gathered placement trends since the federal government stopped requiring such reports three years ago. Administrators were quick to point out that the data that were collected three years ago were unreliable because of the small sample size (only 20 percent of graduates were polled) and of the low response rates. In the absence of systematically gathered information on job placement, our discussion will rely more on qualitative materials.

The district is constantly under market pressure to upgrade the quality of its vocational graduates. Take the auto industry for example. Although neighborhood muffler shops continue to hire new graduates as auto mechanics, major dealerships are looking for students with post secondary training. To improve the job prospect of the public school students, the district has

recently concluded agreements with community colleges, including several in the suburban areas, that would allow 11th- and 12th-graders to take advanced apprenticeship classes at those institutions.

An even broader effort is attempted through the state project on "Education for Employment," which is now in its planning phase and is expected to be fully implemented at the local level by 1990. This project mandates an "umbrella planning" process, which requires only one major plan on occupational training from the school district. Under this project, teachers, with inputs from private industries, periodically review and update the vocational curriculum in light of regional labor market trends. In metropolitan Chicago, for example, significant job growths have occurred in construction, wholesale trade, transportation, and public utilities. Schools are expected to expand those programs that lie in areas of rapid job growth in the metropolitan area. For example, courses on transportation and communication technologies are being considered. Ties with post-secondary institutions are also encouraged in occupational areas where post-secondary training is necessitated for employment. The effectiveness of this project has yet to be seen when it is fully implemented in the Chicago schools in 1990.

Individual programs often receive private sector support in career planning and placement. For example, the city's Hotel Association held a workshop at the Malcolm X City College that offered an opporunity for 8th-graders to review their career option in hotel management. Major airlines have developed a

strong interest in the auto mechanics programs at a time when the retiring WWII veterans left open positions to be filled. The printing industry in Chicago has long been supportive of the drafting program. A major architectual firm now sponsors citywide student competition over building designs. A citywide advisory council on woodmaking has helped by referring students to employers.

The vocational program also has to deal with students who have completed training in an area which has very few employment opportunities. For example, the wood-making specialty has always been the most popular program. Students in the cabinet-making classes, for example, can see their products and are proud to bring home a grandfather clock. But employment opportunity in this trade is severely limited in the city. School administrators now have to channel the energy and interest of these students, often with some difficulties, to other related areas, such as building maintenance and carpentry.

Needless to say, placement success depends on the shape of the city's economy. As the city's job base continues to decline, schools have to work harder and to become even more innovative to prepare inner-city youths for the labor market. Without an adequate academic preparation, school dropouts are not likely to find any job in the city. For the educationally disadvantaged, supplemental job training programs outside of the regular classroom settings become critical. We will first look at the non-profit sector and then examine the federal job training programs.

The Non-Profit Sector: A Supplemental Role in Youth Training

Of more than 20 major non-profit organizations that are involved in human services in our survey, only a few do not provide job training for youths. In addition, we also contacted key business organizations (such as Civic Club and Association of Commerce) and union groups (such as AFL-CIO). None of these operate any youth employment training programs. The following discussion is based on more detailed information that we gathered from 15 major organizations.

Training Programs Differentiated. The 15 major nonprofit organizations that provide job training services to city youths can be differentiated in terms of the extent to which their programs have an exclusive youth focus and the level of fiscal support from non-governmental sources, such as the United Way and religious institutions. The major governmental sources for these youth projects primarily come from the federal JTPA programs.

These programmatic and funding differences seem to have produced two sets of training efforts within the non-profit sector. Those organizations that do not dependent on governmental funds (particularly federal JTPA) are less likely to use economic disadvantages as admissions criteria, are less vigorous in their recruitment efforts, and are more likely to offer less intense training due to lack of resources. Organizaions that are supported by federal JTPA funds often pay greater attention to the economically disadvantaged groups, establish better coordination with other human service agencies,

and offer more intense skills training. Indeed, disadvantaged youths have received more services in organizations that not only have programs targeted on youths but also have obtained federal JTPA funds.

Programs Supported by Non-Governmental Sources. As Table 8 suggests, 3 of the 15 groups are primarily dependent upon non-governmenal sources. However, of these 3 organizations, only the Catholic Charities operate programs that focus on youths. The latter offers pre-employment training to 200 youths per year and receives primary support from the United Way, private contributions, and the parishes. Youths in these programs are admitted without having to meet any means-tested criteria. They are enrolled in typing courses and writing classes that meet for a month, three hours a day, three days a week. These programs have not received any JTPA funds.

The other two major organizations that rely primarily on non-governmental sources serve a broader clientele, namely, both adults (i.e. over 21 years old) and youths regardless of family incomes. The Jewish United Fund finances the Jewish Vocational Services, which serve the handicapped and the disabled. Applicants who are admitted to clerical and maintenance training programs must be referred by the state Department of Rehabilitation. Further, the Circle Urban Ministries are primarily supported by the United Way and private contributions. Over 200 persons complete their 12-hour training in job preparation skills each year. One-third of these are youths and all participants are recruited regardless of incomes. These programs are said to have a 70 percent placement rate. Word-of-

mouth is the most commonly used recruitment method.

Youth Programs with Substantial Governmental Aid. Twelve non-profit organizations receive subtantial support from governmental sources, particularly the federal JTPA funds. As Table 8 suggests, six of these operate programs that are primarily serving disadvantaged youth groups. These programs involve more intense training, with longer duration and on-the-job practices. The Latino Youth, with $50,000 federal JTPA funds, runs a fairly vigorous training program for 32 high school students that meet the disadvantaged criteria. These students, who are recruited with the help of high schools, receive 25 hours of pre-employment training in addition to 80 to 120 hours of on-the-job training. Jobs for Youth, with over $1 million budget, serves 1,200 disadvantaged (mostly black) youths per year. Two-thirds of these revenues come from JTPA programs, 2 percent from United Way, and the rest from corporate and individual contributions. A variety of recruitment methods is used, including outreach through churches, contacts from other social service organizations, and even occasional referrals by juvenile courts. Youths in these programs are taught academic as well as job-finding skills. The Woodlawn Organization, with a combination of United Way and JTPA funds, helps train high school students with job readiness skills. The Community Linkage programs offer 2-week pre-employment classes to about 200 youths from low-income families per year. Recruitment efforts have been provided by city council representatives. Youth Network Council gets 90% of their funds from the federal JTPA programs. The

Council has targeted on mail clerk training, in which 60 youths go through the program each year. The Youth Service Project serves 150 disadvantaged youths yearly in resume writing, interview techniques, and other pre-employment skills.

Programs with Broader Clientele. The remaining organizations also receive substantial governmental supports but have not developed a primary focus on youths in their training programs. The Salvation Army's Career Access Center operates a bank-teller and a clerical-skill class that combines academic training with OJT opportunities. All enrollees are at least 18 years old. These programs are substantially supported by state-financed "Project Chance" for recipients of public assistanace. With its reputation as the oldest human service provider for minorities in Chicago, the Chicago Urban League offers job placement, OJT, and counseling services to about 600 low-income individuals. Twenty percent of these participants are youths. Despite the fact that eligible employers are reimbursed for half of the wages of the newly hired for the first two months, placement rates have remained low. Only about 70 get hired per year. With the support of the JTPA funds, the Goodwill Industries operate five vocational training programs, including pre-employment skills. Most of these, however, are not targeted at youths.

Further, the Center for Employment Development has only started its training and wage-subsidy programs for low-income individuals and dislocated workers since March 1988. Only 16 persons are currently enrolled in these new programs that are funded by about $100,000 JTPA funds. The Center has not received

supports from such major charitable organizations as the United Way. Under its "Service to the Unemployed" division, United Charities provides training to about 1,000 persons per year. Forty percent of them are youths. With the support of $35,000 JTPA funds, these programs include job search, stress management courses, communicative skills, and self-esteem development. Finally, the Training Inc. offers clerical training to those who are 18 and older from below the poverty line. Of the total 120 trained per year, youths represent about 20 percent. Entirely financed by JTPA dollars, these classes meet 30 hours a week for 15 weeks. Participants find out about these programs through public service announcements and word-of-mouth.

Federal Job Training For the Disadvantaged

The heavy reliance on federal funds by non-profit organizations in youth and adult training programs suggests a critical federal role. In this section, we will look at the third key component of the work-related education system in Chicago, the federal Job Training Partnership Act.

Federal Job Training Programs. The federally-funded Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) offers a variety of job training programs for disadvantaged youths (aged 14 to 21) and adults (22 and older) with inadequate job skills in Chicago. Unlike its predecessor, the CETA programs, JTPA does not provide employment through public service jobs. This 1982-enacted policy has given the state government substantial authority.

Federal JTPA funds are distributed to Chicago according to a state formula, which assigns equal weights to three factors,

namely, the community's jobless rate, its excessive level of unemployment, and its percent population under poverty. In Illinois, these figures are determined by using a combined calculation of the 1980 Census data on poverty rate and the more updated count on joblessness as recorded at the state employment service agencies. According to these estimates, Chicago had 27.8 percent of the state's jobless population and 49.9 percent of the state's poverty population in 1984-85. Based on these figures, Chicago received 43.5 percent of the state's JTPA federal dollars in 1985.

There are 26 service delivery areas in Illinois, and the Chicago city as a whole is a service delivery area. The Mayor's Office has signed contracts with over 120 service-provider groups to operate job training programs throughout the city. Like other service delivery areas, Chicago receives federal allocations in two sets of major JTPA activities, namely, Title IIA, "Adult and Youth Programs," and Title IIB, "Summer Youth Employment and Training Programs." These programs are administered through the Mayor's Office on Employment and Training, which reports to the Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs.

The late Mayor Harold Washington had made job training one of his policy focuses. During his reelection campaign in 1987, the mayor argued that his appointment of an Hispanic as the director of the job training office showed that he was concerned about employment for Hispanic youths as well as other groups. Indeed, funding for service providers in the Hispanic neighborhoods has been increasing. Fairly consistent with the

Chicago political tradition, the Mayor's office has maintained strong control over the programs. The federally mandated Private Industry Council (PIC) in Chicago is said to be permissive and lacks any staff resources to conduct meaningful oversight and coordinate policy planning. Though a majority of its members come from the private sector, the PIC maintains a low profile in promoting the JTPA programs to businesses. Under Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer, another Hispanic professional was appointed to direct job training policy. The new director, Arturo Vazquez, has served in the city's Department of Economic Development, an agency that is very active in firm retention and recruitment. Given his institutional ties, Vazquez is expected to develop a good working relationship with other city agencies. Through coordination with the Economic Development Department and other city agencies, Vazquez may be able to promote JTPA programs to the private sector.

As Table 9 shows, Chicago spends a total of over $40 million each year on JTPA programs. Over 60 percent of these funds are targeted on youths, although only half of these amounts are directly related to job training activities for youths.

Given its broader objectives, Title IIA has a bigger budget. In 1986-87, Title IIA was twice as large as Title IIB, which served only youths during the summer. Over 40 percent of Title IIA dollars are distributed to programs that benefit disadvantaged youths. This level of support for youths slightly exceeds the legislatively required 40 percent on youth programs.

Profiles of Participants in Title IIA. Even with a budget of $31.4 million, the Chicago Title IIA programs fall short of

meeting the demands for job training. As Table 10 shows, the number of applicants, in which one in two finds out about the programs through word-of-mouth, exceeded the number of actual particpants by 77% in 1986-87. The selection process seems to have worked against the youth group, whose representation was reduced from 74% to 57% of the total between the applicant and the participant pool. Moreover, while eight out of ten participants completed the training, less than half of those enrolled actually got placed in the labor market.

This difference in the participant pool and the placement pool readily affects program cost on a per capita basis. As Table 11 suggests, it generally costs more to train an adult than a youth because adults are likely to receive more intense skills training which presumably costs more. Moreover, the cost per successful placement, for both adults and youths, is about twice as much as the cost for each program registrant. Finally, entry wages for adults are about 20 percent higher than entry wages for youths.

To be sure, Title IIA in Chicago is predominantly serving the black community, as shown in Table 10. While Hispanics make up one-fifth of the participant pool, whites only constitute 4 percent of the program enrollment. Females are fairly well-represented and youths (16-21) hold a majority. Thirty-four percent and 36 percent of participants are AFDC recipients and non labor force participants respectively.

However, Title IIA programs are not keen on providing assistance to several major special needs groups in the city. In

particular, high school dropouts (22%) are half as likely as high school graduates (41%) to be admitted into these job training programs. The Chicago programs also fail to enroll a greater number of teenage parents (4%), limited English proficient persons (4%), and the handicapped (3%).

Training Strategies in Title IIA Programs. Popularity of programs has been substantially affected by state and federal performance evaluation standards. These criteria have placed undue emphasis on cost reduction on a per job placement basis. Under the pressure of efficiency, Chicago, as well as practically all service delivery areas in Illinois, has formulated its training activities and its participant-selection practices in ways that would maximize the JTPA dollars spent. In other words, administrators in Chicago were concerned about the cost per Entry Employment Rate (EER). One of their objectives is simply to reduce, as much as possible, such a cost-outcome ratio. As Table 11 shows, the cost per EER has declined in recent years. To achieve these cost savings, administrators have selected the most job-ready applicants in their job-training programs. For example, high school graduates make up over 40 percent of all participants. Providing additional training to high school graduates would surely help smooth the transition from school to work for this group of more educationally advantaged youths.

Yet these cost-efficient concerns may have been achieved at the expense of providing training to those who are most in need. Services for the latter are certainly more expensive than those that are designed for the more job-ready participants. As Table 12 shows, basic academic training, the kinds of activities that

would equip youths with long-term employment skills, remains a very small program within JTPA Title IIA. Only one out of twenty trainees enrolls in these basic courses. Although the number of dropouts increased from 56 to 863 between 1985 and 1987, there were only three LEP participants in 1987.

In contrast, over one-third of all participants receives job search assistance only. These services are particularly useful for high school graduates who need information on employers, job opportunities, and other job counseling aids (e.g. interview techniques). These activities became institutionalized in 1985 and have since replaced classroom vocational training as the leading program service.

Exemplary youth (competency) programs have experienced significant growth as well. The law does not define "youth competencies" in terms of actual employment. Rather, state guidelines emphasize job preparation skills, including "pre-employment/work maturity, basic education and job specific skills." Consistent with these definitions, the four exemplary programs in Chicago in 1985 were all focused on teaching pre-employment skills. The Mayor's Office reported that almost 4,000 youths had achieved competency in 1987. Finally, on-the-job training (OJT) and try-out employment programs remain at a moderate size.

Placement-Wage Differences Among Participants. To be sure, placement rates vary not only among different programs but also between racial groups and participants with different levels of educational attainment. As Table 13 suggests, participants in

OJT, job search assistance, and exemplary youth programs generally have a higher job placement rate than those in basic academic and vocational training. These differences in placement rates are found in all three major racial groups in the city of Chicago.

Wages at the entry level also vary. While OJT and vocationally trained participants earned over $5 on the average, youths who demonstrated pre-employment competencies made less than $3.50 per hour on the average. However, employers almost always screen OJT applicants, thereby putting the less job-ready at a disadvantage. Further, in the absence of city and state oversight, the OJT arrangements may resemble a wage-subsidy program for excessive periods (General Accounting Office, 1988; Slessarev, 1988).

These differential placement-wage rates can in part be explained by the size in the pool of high school graduates who receive employment in each program. Of the total 6,416 participants who got placed from the job search programs, 2,906, or 45 percent, were high school graduates. In contrast, of the 1,416 youths who found jobs following their completion in exemplary youth training, only one was a high school graduate. Without much surprise, job training above and beyond a high school GED would yield much better employment prospects.

At the same time, the few youths who are without a GED but are selected into the best job-related programs (e.g. OJT and Job Search) are also found to have benefited from these services. For example, the placement-wage gap between school dropouts and high school graduates is narrow within the job search program.

However, most disadvantaged youths who enrolled in pre-employment programs (e.g. exemplary youth) or lacked basic skills (e.g. those in basic training classes) were most likely to get frustrated in the job market. For example, black high school dropouts in the academic programs were only half as successful as their peers in the OJT in getting hired. Even for those who were hired, their wages were 40 percent lower than their OJT peers. A similar degree in these differential outcomes can also be found among white and Hispanic groups.

In short, JTPA training seems to have the greatest positive employment impact on participants who have completed their formal high school training. In the absence of basic skills in reading, writing, and calculating, even with supplemental JTPA-type training, youths are not likely to obtain desirable employment outcomes.

A high school diploma is particularly important in Chicago, where job opportunities for disadvantaged youths are largely concentrated in the unskilled or semi-skilled sectors. As Table 14 shows, sales, clerical, and services accounted for two-thirds of all entry-level jobs held by JTPA Title IIA participants. For blacks, these three sectors provided for an even higher portion, three-fourths of the employment.

In contrast, mechanics, a blue-collar occupation that requires more advanced technical training, represents only 2 percent of all the JTPA placements. Compared to whites and Hispanics, blacks are particularly keen on finding sales and service jobs, but seem to be at a disadvantaged position in

production. Hispanics are much more successful in the production area, but lag behind in both service and sales sectors perhaps partly because of the language barrier. It should be noted that follow-up data on job retention, which has not been required by the state until very recently, remains sketchy at this point.

Furthermore, according to a survey of administrators in 16 major service provider agencies in Chicago (Orfield and Slessarev, 1986), which represented one-fourth of all service provider agencies with at least 35 trainees, only 7 percent cited the lack of jobs in Chicago as a major problem in placement of JTPA trainees. But 67 percent and 56 percent of these respondents pointed out participants' inadequate basic skills and inadequate work experience respectively as major causes in placement failure.

Inner-city youth employment can be facilitated by other federal and state programs that provide incentives for employers. For example, a 1985 study was conducted on 30 percent of the 120 non-profit community-based organizations that offered JTPA training. According to this study, these service-provider groups found it easier to obtain OJT and permanent placement for low-income JTPA youths in companies that participated in the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Program, which was enacted by Congress in the Revenue Act of 1978 (Chicago Jobs Council, 1985).

Title II B Training For Disadvantaged Youths. JTPA Title IIB is less oriented to actual employment. Program guidelines do not use job placement as a performance evaluation standard in these youth programs. Instead, Title IIB provides employment

experience and job training to disadvantaged youths, including the 14- and 15-year-olds, during the summer months. Since the majority of these participants are attending schools during the academic year, these programs offer additional opportunities for youths to get a head start in their work-career path (Elmore, 1986). Like Title IIA, these summer programs are administered through the Mayor's Office on Employment and Training in Chicago.

As Table 15 indicates, in 1985-86, Chicago Title IIB programs served a total of 25,200 youths, 38 percent of these were 14 and 15 years old. While 7 out of 10 participants were given positive terminations, less than 5 percent of the participants actually got hired at the end of the summer. Ninety-four percent of those placed were 16-21 years old, although this group represented only 62 percent of the program trainees. Consequently, the cost/EER is 21 times higher than the cost/participant, as suggested in Table 16. Because Title IIB is not primarily designed to place youths in the labor market, a more accurate performance measure is the cost/positive terminee, which is 45 percent higher than the cost/participant. Even for those who were hired, their entry-level wages on the average were lower than those in the Title IIA programs.

Representation of Special Needs Groups in Title IIB. Blacks were well represented in Chicago's Title IIB programs. As Table 15 shows, they made up 78 percent of all participants, 80 percent of those who completed the training courses, and 84 percent of the placement pool during 1985-86. White youths, on the contrary, accounted for only 2 percent of the trainee pool. In

short, like Title IIA, these Summer Youth programs primarily served blacks in Chicago. About half of all youths came from welfare families. Almost 9 out of 10 were non labor force participants.

However, Title II B participants do not always come from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, as suggested in Table 15. Instead, on closer examination, high school students and high school graduates together made up almost 90 percent of the participants. High school dropouts were substantially underserved, only 7 percent of the participants. Likewise, only 2 percent of all trainees were LEP youths, 4 percent were teenage parents, and 3 percent were handicapped.

In short, both the Title IIA and the Title IIB programs have not vigorously targeted on four major disadvantaged groups in Chicago, namely, school dropouts, LEPs, teenage parents, and the handicapped. Instead, the summer programs, like the Title IIA activities, provide supplemental training mainly to high school students and youths with the GED.

Low Participation in Basic Academic Programs. The dominance of these educationally advantaged groups has contributed to differences in program size. Because most participants are either in school during the regular academic year or have graduated, both the basic academic and vocational programs, which are available in regular schools, became the least attractive to them. In 1986-87, as Table 17 summarizes, these two programs accounted for only 4.7 percent of all youth participants. Instead, almost 90 percent of all trainees were concentrated in programs that would give them actual work experience and job-

search assistance. In short, these summer programs are likely to help youths who stay in school. Combining summer job experience with a high school diploma, inner-city youths surely will improve their employment prospects.

Key Policy Issues Considered

Toward A Complementary Job Training System. Both the public school programs (basic as well as vocational) and the supplementary programs outside of the regular classroom settings are found to have substantially shaped the placement-wage outcomes for inner-city youths. The complementary character of these two training systems can be summarized in an analytical framework, as proposed in Table 18. On the one hand, the effect of formal schooling is critically important for youth employment. Youths who have completed four years of high school can be called "educationally advantaged." A small number of these may have taken advanced training courses in post-secondary institutions. Educationally advantaged youths are often referred to as job ready. School dropouts, a group which makes up half of the public school student cohort in Chicago, can be classified as educationally disadvantaged. On the other hand, job training outside of regular classroom settings, such as the JTPA programs as implemented by non-profit organizations, serve a useful supplemental role. These training strategies can be distinguished between those that offer direct market contacts for trainees and those that are oriented to improve the participants basic skills.

The interplay of these two sets of variables produces four

different outcomes for inner-city job-seeking youths. To be sure, these employment-earnings outcomes generally characterize existing inequities in Chicago's work-related education system for youths. First, the wage-placement gap is the widest, regardless of race and gender, between the educationally advantaged participants in market-oriented job training programs (i.e. cell A) and the educationally disadvantaged trainees in supplemental programs that are less job relevant (i.e. cell D). To be sure, there is a greater chance for job-ready groups to participate in market-oriented JTPA programs, thereby leading to better placement-wage outcomes. At the same time, educationally disadvantaged participants in basic academic programs, who are less job-ready, have encountered more difficulty in getting hired, and even if employed, they usually make lower entry-level wages (See General Accounting Office, 1988).

Our scheme, which is empirically based on the current inequity among participant trainees, does not imply an elimination of the basic academic programs that lack good placement outcomes. After all, short term employment may not mean greater earning capacity in the longer run (Taylor, et al., 1982; Burtless, 1984). Instead, we urge an expansion of these basic programs because they offer the only major channel through which the most disadvantaged youths, who are both poor and dropouts, can get back to the mainstream labor market. In the longer run, this academic training may be able to move these "at risk" youths out of the plight of joblessness by transforming them from educationally disadvantaged to educationally advantaged persons (i.e. by obtaining a GED or an equivalent diploma).

Second, the positive role of a high school diploma is important for those who have enrolled in JTPA programs that are less occupationally specific (i.e. cell B). Third, even for individuals who are educationally disadvantaged, good supplemental training can improve employment prospects (i.e. cell C).

Based on this analytical scheme that reflects current outcome inequities, we strongly believe that the best employment outcomes for disadvantaged youths occur when the two training systems work together and not in isolation to each other. Supplemental programs, such as the JTPA, alone cannot deliver desirable employment outcomes without a substantial number of high school graduates participating in the programs. But supplementary job training cannot replace the role of basic academic training, which is the primary responsibility of the Chicago public schools. In other words, employment effects of basic high school training can be substantialy enhanced through job-related training in the JTPA. In the long run, high school graduates with a GED who are equipped with some types of job training are in the best position to compete for scarce job opportunities in the city. This is particularly true in small firms, whose rates of job creation have been faster than large firms, where employees are expected to perform a variety of tasks and are not likely to be given on-the-job training (National Academy of Sciences, 1984).

Improving Basic Performance at Local Level. The complementary character of these two training systems suggests an appropriate division of governmental roles. First, the local

school district should play a primary role in making sure that youths attain basic academic performance. Using our conceptual scheme, schools perform the critical function of reducing the size of the educationally disadvantaged pool. This is particularly challenging in Chicago, given its 45-50 percent dropout rates in high schools (Chicago Tribune, May 1988; Hess and Lauber, 1985). To be sure, basic training must start in elementary schools. Many vocational administrators and teachers complained that entering freshmen lacked the basic skills for the more vigorous occupational programs. At the same time, our study shows that vocational high schools generally maintain higher completion rates. Perhaps one strategy for local schools to consider is to identify at-risk youths at the 8th grade and channel those who have a vocational interest to a "fast track" vocational training program, where entry-level skills in a specific trade will be taught at the 10th- (instead of the 11th-) grade (See Havighurst, 1964).

Further, the Mayor's office in charge of the federal JTPA programs should adopt a more balanced approach between basic academic programs and the more market-oriented strategies. As we discussed above, while the former has lower performance outcomes, it has served an increasing number of school dropouts (Slessarev, 1988). If the private sector can be more effectively informed about the socio-economic contributions of these basic academic programs, trainees in these programs may be given better placement opportunities.

Likewise, the non-profit sector plays an important supplemental role. A combination of private and governmental

funds has helped to establish a wide range of job training programs that offer economic opportunities to youths and adults. Given the fact that a network of training programs has already been put in place, a greater focus on disadvantaged youths can be further facilitated with support from neighborhood groups, churches, charitable organizations, and governmental efforts. Key responsibilities, however, remain in the hands of school and city officials.

Having identified the responsibilities for schools and city job-training agencies, we urge these two sets of governmental institutions to actively coordinate not only with each other, but also with the private sector to facilitate market contacts for student trainees. Currently, these market-oriented mechanisms are as fragmented and variegated as the number of job-training institutions. Nonetheless, all these efforts are found to be useful for jobless youths in Chicago. In particular, youths in inner-city neighborhoods can no longer rely on their community labor market for employment, because the job base has substantially disappeared due to gang warfare and vandalism. Thirty-eight of Chicago's 77 neighborhoods have at least 14 percent of their residents living in poverty. To gain access to job opportunities outside of these neighborhoods, inner-city youths need all kinds of OJT experience and counseling assistance. Through training, they can benefit from learning about the culture of the work place, their own individual responsibilities at work, and the career ladder of an occupation and how they might step up that ladder.

Promoting State Engagement. The state government can provide additional and more targeted fiscal assistance to vocational programs in the Chicago schools. As discussed above, state vocational education aid represented only 1 percent of all state aid to the district. An expansion of state fiscal support should target these funds on the special needs population, particularly on programs that would help school dropouts. The state government can also promote inter-jurisdictional cooperation by making available program information from the Mayor's office on JTPA programs to the school district. Right now, school administrators know very little about the city-managed job-training programs.

Like other state governments, Illinois has been reluctant to channel its own funds for supplemental job training (the JTPA type) for disadvantaged youths. Under pressure to compete with other states for economic growth, Illinois has instead used its own resources for training programs that are designed to retain existing businesses and recruit out-of-state firms. State economic development efforts range from the five enterprise zones in the city of Chicago to various business loan programs under the "Build Illinois" project (Illinois DCCA, August 1986). Several projects that are designed to retain existing industries involved direct state grants. One such example is the Industrial Training Program, in which state dollars are channeled to industries as partial subsidy to wages of new employees. "The company chooses the trainees, the methods of training and the location for training." (Illinois DCCA, Nov. 1986) According to a 1986 report, the state provided $268,433 to four Chicago

companies as wage subsidies for 338 trainees, of which only 54 were newly hired (Illinois DCCA, Nov. 1986). These amounted to $794 per trainee, or $4,971 per new employee.

A key function the state government can perform is to enforce fair employment practices in the metropolitan Chicago area. While job growth continues outside of Chicago, employer discrimination against minority job seekers remains a problem in some suburban communities (Orfield and Slessarev, 1986). During the first three program years of JTPA, the state of Illinois was found to have been in non-compliance with federal equal employment opportunity guidelines by the U.S. Department of Labor. In its refusal to certify the Illinois programs, the Office of Civil Rights in the DOL cited numerous problems that related to general contracting procedures, accessibility of LEPs and the handicapped, methods of corrective actions, record-keeping on program participants, and lack of clear policy on equal opportunity (Orfield and Slessarev, 1986). It took the state more than one year to respond to these federal charges and DOL issued its certification in January 1986. Greater enforcement of equal employment opportunities by state agencies would certainly facilitate the job prospects of inner-city minorities.

Defining Federal Role. Given the state's preoccupation with economic development strategy, the role of the federal government becomes particularly important in providing training monies to disadvantaged youths. First, federal guidelines in JTPA need to be tightened so as to redirect federal dollars to meet the needs of not only the low-income group, but also school dropouts,

LEPs, teenage parents, and the handicapped. Of these, school dropouts may constitute the most important challenge in the city of Chicago. Currently, school dropouts are often displaced by other job-ready applicants in the screening process of JTPA programs, which are governed until this year by cost-efficient standards. As we pointed out, 78 percent of JTPA Title IIB youth program participants are currently enrolled in schools. Forty percent and 22 percent of the JTPA Title IIA participants are high school graduates and students respectively. In this regard, we find as a welcoming development the elimination of cost/EER as the major program evaluation criterium starting in 1989 (Illinois DCCA, March 28, 1988). These changes are likely to reduce undue pressure on basic academic training which does not yield as high a placement outcome as the other more market oriented strategies.

Given the lack of state fiscal support, whether federal JTPA funds are equitably distributed to Chicago has become an important policy issue. In a June 1988 congressional hearing, Arturo Vazquez, the Mayor's top administrator in charge of employment and training, complained that the current federal allocation formula "shortchanges large cities like Chicago that have high concentrations of economic disadvantaged persons." Funding inequity between Chicago and other jurisdictions in Illinois, according to Vazquez, is clearly found in the 1987 JTPA appropriations. While Chicago receives $47 for each income eligible person, communities in the rest of Illinois are allocated more than $85 per eligible individual (Vazquez, June 8, 1988; Mayor's Office, 1988). Consequently, the Mayor's office

urged the Congress to change the relative weights assigned to factors in the current formula.

In response to these charges, U.S. Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, the Democratic chairman of the Senate Employment and Productivity Subcommittee, proposed to amend the federal formula. The Simon amendment which is expected to be introduced in the 101th Congress in 1989, will give greater emphasis to the poverty factor. The revised allocation will be based one-fourth on unemployment, one-fourth on excess joblessness, and one-half (instead of the previously one-third) on low-income population (See Simon, November 1988). In addition, the amendment proposes to fund a new challenge-youth program that is designed to reduce high school drop-out rates.

In short, the complementary system in job training, which currently produces outcome inequities, can be made to address employment needs of disadvantaged youths. Toward this goal, the proper role among the three levels of the government must be specified. While local governmental efforts must focus on basic academic training, state and federal supports, with the cooperation from non-profit organizations, should be targeted on inner-city disadvantaged youths who are both poor and school dropouts. The challenge of youth joblessness is too important to be neglected in the nation's third largest city. The seriousness of these problems clearly merits the coordination of all governmental and non-profit institutions.

Table 1. Unemployment and Labor Force Participation, Chicago

	White				Black and Other			
	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986
Total Population (in '000s)								
Age 16 and Older	1619	1364	1310	1325	665	821	901	944
Age 16 - 19	144	116	94	89	95	128	121	95
Labor Force Participation Rate (in Percent)								
Age 16 and Older	62.6	60.5	64.4	62.4	55.0	54.7	56.3	58.3
Age 16 - 19	53.3	56.0	58.1	54.4	23.2	32.0	33.3	38.0
Unemployment (in Percent LFP)								
Age 16 and Older	4.6	5.9	8.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	18.7	21.1
Age 16 - 19	14.2	12.3	22.9	18.7	36.4	43.9	55.0	61.2

Sources: Compiled from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Geographic Profile Reports, 1971-86.

Table 2. Enrollment in Vocational Programs by Race, Gender, and Special Needs, Chicago Public Schools, 1986-87

	Pre-Occupational Training at 9th/10th Grades		Occupational Training at 11th/12th Grades	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
By Race and Gender				
Black Male	19,510	30.0	6,555	30.4
Black Female	21,046	32.4	7,781	36.1
Hispanic Male	6.052	9.3	1,763	8.2
Hispanic Female	5,092	7.8	1,984	9.2
White Male	7,092	10.9	1,541	7.2
White Female	4,084	6.2	1,502	7.0
Others	2,172	3.4	404	1.9
Total	65,048	100.0	21,530	100.0
By Special Needs*				
Handicapped	5,939	9.1	2,559	11.9
LEP	4,215	6.5	1,102	5.1
Low-Income	31,546	48.5	12,745	59.2
Total	65,048	100.0	21,530	100.0

Note: *Students may be counted in two of these three special needs categories. Starting in 1988-89, students can be classified in only one of these three categories.

Sources: Illinois State Board of Education, Department of Adult Vocational and Technical Education, VocEd End-of-Year Report, 1986-1987: City of Chicago, January 15, 1988.

Table 3. Instructional Staff by vocational areas and by race and gender, Chicago Public Schools, 1986-87

Program Area	Number	%Total	% By Race Within Program Area					
			Black		Hispanic		White	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	24	1.5	12.5	16.7	0	0	50.0	20.8
Business Management	8	0.5	0	25.0	0	0	37.5	37.5
Secretarial	490	30.6	9.4	44.3	0.6	0.8	24.7	19.0
Marketing & Sales	61	3.8	18.0	37.7	0	0	34.4	9.8
Advertising	2	0.1	100	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Service	14	0.9	0	57.1	0	0	7	35.7
Environmental Control	1	0.06	0	0	0	0	100	0
Health Occupations	29	1.8	6.9	55.2	0	3.4	0	24.1
Home Econ.	104	6.5	1.9	71.2	1.9	0	1.0	24.0
Occupational Homemaking	33	2.1	0	75.8	3.0	0	0	21.2
Construction	107	6.7	28	4.7	2.8	0	62.6	0.9
Mechanics	112	7.0	34	3.6	2.7	0	56.3	1.8
Precision Production	286	17.9	37.1	3.5	3.1	0	52.1	2.4
Special Ed.	328	20.5	15.2	32	0.6	0.9	25.6	23.8
Total	1,599	99.96	18.1	30.8	1.4	0.5	32.7	14.9

Sources: As cited in Table 2.

Table 4. Revenue Sources for Vocational Education, Chicago Public Schools, 1987-88

Sources	Vocational Funds (in $ million)	As % Total	Total School Spending (in $million)	Vocational Fund as %Total Spending
Total	43.8	100	1,711.2	2.6
Local	33.6	76.7	674.3	5.0
State	5.9	13.5	808.2	0.7
Federal	4.3	9.8	228.7	1.9

Source: Chicago Public Schools, 1987-88 School Budget, Adopted December 2, 1987; Illinois State Board of Education, Department of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education.

Table 5. Racial Composition in Chicago 4-Year Vocational High Schools, 1983-84 (in Percentages)

School	Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Total %
Chicago Vocational	99.5	0.2	0.3	0	100
Dunbar	99.9	0.1	0	0	100
Prosser	29.2	29.6	40	1.2	100
Simeon	100	0	0	0	100
Westinghouse	100	0	0	0	100
All High Schools (1986)	62	19.8	14.7	3.5	100

Source: Chicago Public Schools, Racial/Ethnic Survey - Students As of October 31, 1983. Also see Designs for Change, The Bottom Line: Chicago's Failing Schools and How to Save Them, Chicago, January 1985.

Table 6. Estimates of Retention Rates for Classes of 1980 through 1984, Vocational High Schools (As % of 8th Grade Enrollment)

School	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	5-year Average
Chicago Vocational	62	64	62	53	50	58
Dunbar	78	65	65	69	47	65
Prosser	60	52	63	54	69	60
Simeon	56	59	68	51	48	56
Westinghouse	83	81	72	74	59	74

Source: As cited in Table 5.

Table 7. Cost Per Graduate in Five Vocational High Schools, Class of 1984

School	Senior Enrollment Spring 1984	$ Invested in Class of 1984 over 4 years ($million)	Cost/Graduating Senior
Chicago Vocat.	751	10.8	14,369
Dunbar	382	7.3	19,173
Prosser	248	4.2	17,109
Simeon	353	5.6	15,802
Westinghouse	282	5.2	18,418
All High Schools	9,500	354.4	37,305

Source: Compiled and calculated from sources as cited in Table 5. For each school, the total amount of dollars invested in the entire class of 1984 over a 4-year period is estimated in the following manner: Divide the sum of the school's expenditures for Fiscal years 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984 by four. These figures also included administrative cost for each school. On the methodology, see The Bottom Line, p. 117, footnote 22.

Table 8. Classifying Job-Training Programs in Non-Profit Sector by Youth Focus and by Extent of Governmental Support

	Primary Sources of Program Funding	
	Non-Governmental	Governmental (Mostly JTPA)
Program Focus		
Both Adults & Youths	Jewish Vocational Services	Salvation Army's Career Access Center
	Circle Urban Ministries	Chicago Urban League
		Center for Employment Dev.
		Goodwill Industries
		Training Inc.
		United Charities
Primarily on Youths	Catholic Charities	Latino Youth
		Jobs for Youth
		Community Linkage
		Youth Network Council
		Woodlawn Organization
		Youth Service Project

Table 9. JTPA Expenditures in Chicago, 1984-1986

	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Title IIA			
Total Amount ($million)	22.7	26.9	31.4
% for All Youth Programs	N/A	47.6	43.6
% for Youth Training Only	N/A	34.9	33.8
Title IIB			
Total Amount ($million)	21.1	22.7	14.9
% for All Youth Programs	100	100	100
% for Youth Training Only	N/A	15.4	20.1
Total			
Total Amount ($million)	43.8	49.6	46.3
% for All Youth Programs	N/A	71.6	61.8
% for Youth Training Only	N/A	25.8	29.4

Sources: Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, JTPA Management Information System, On-Line Summarization Report, September 17, 1987.

Table 10. Socioeconomic Profile of Participants in JTPA Title IIA, Chicago, 1986-87

	Applicants	Participants	Terminees	Entered Employment
Total	40,958	23,097	18,392	10,994
As % Participants	177%	100%	79.6%	48%
% Male	45	46	46	49
% Female	55	54	54	51
% Youth (16-21)	74	57	56	53
% Age 22-54	24	42	44	46
%Black	75	72	70	65
%Hispanic	18	21	23	28
%White	4	4	5	5
%School Dropouts	18	22	23	21
%Student	41	22	21	21
%High school Grads	30	41	42	43
%LEP	3	4	5	6
%Teenage Parent	5	4	4	3
%Handicapped	3	3	3	3
%Non Labor Force	47	36	34	29
%AFDC Recipient	40	34	33	29

Source: Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, JTPA Management Information System, "Target Population Characteristics, Title IIA," February 23, 1988.

Table 11. Program Cost Per Participant in JTPA Title II A, Chicago

	1985-86	1986-87
Cost Per Participant		
Adult	$1,876.13	$1,792.45
Youth	1,247.55	1,038.29
Cost Per Positive Termination for Youths	2,313.4	1,746.21
Cost Per Entered Employment		
Adult	3,772.3	3,450.62
Youth	2,699.21	2,341.51
Average Wage Per Hour at Job Entry		
Adult	5.18	5.18
Youth	3.97	4.01

Sources: As cited in Table 9.

Table 12. Percent Distribution of Participants in Major Programs, JTPA Title IIA, Chicago

	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Total Number	14,794	17,788	23,097
Academic Training	2.6%	4.7%	5.4%
Vocational	37.1	23.3	18.0
Private OJT	13.0	10.0	9.8
Exemplary Youth	1.9	15.7	14.3
Pre-Employment	4.0	8.1	7.1
Try-out Employment	N/A	7.6	7.2
Job Search Assistance	N/A	33.6	37.5

Source: Compiled and Calculated from sources cited in Table 9.

Table 13. Job Placement Rates As Percent of Program Terminees By Types of Training, Race, Age Group, and Educational Level, JTPA Title IIA, Chicago, 1986-87

	Black		Hispanic		White	
	As % Terminee	Entry Wage	As % Terminee	Entry Wage	As % Terminee	Entry Wage
Basic Academic						
Overall	33%	$3.75	26%	$3.55	17%	$3.68
Youth	32	3.72	25	3.53	17	3.68
Dropouts	34	3.76	24	3.60	16	3.77
High School Grad	20	3.75	0	0	0	0
Vocational						
Overall	47	5.34	60	5.53	50	5.81
Youth	46	4.65	66	5.38	50	5.55
Dropouts	43	4.64	47	4.90	44	5.18
High School Grad	48	5.3	64	5.65	54	5.97
Job Search						
Overall	59	4.38	80	4.68	62	4.82
Youth	63	3.94	76	4.27	61	3.97
Dropouts	50	4.17	79	4.32	57	4.41
High School Grad	58	4.54	80	4.99	61	5.13
OJT						
Overall	71	5.41	69	5.23	69	5.68
Youth	73	4.8	69	5.04	67	5.31
Dropouts	66	5.31	69	4.88	72	5.40
High School Grad	72	5.39	67	5.38	71	5.75
Exemplary Youth						
Overall (youth)	68	3.38	72	3.42	71	3.46
Dropouts	100	3.35	100	3.35	0	0
High School Grad	0	0	100	3.65	0	0

Sources: As cited in Table 10.

Table 14. Percent Distribution of Job Placement by Occupations and by Race, Participants in JTPA Title IIA, Chicago, 1986-87

	Sales	Clerical	Service	Production	Laborer	Machinist	Other
All Races	19%	26%	22%	8%	7%	2%	16%
Black	23	25	27	3	7	2	13
Hispanic	12	29	12	20	9	2	16
White	15	26	18	10	8	4	22

Sources: As cited in Table 10.

Table 15. Profile of Participants in JTPA Title IIB, Chicago, 1985-86

	Applicants	Participants	Terminees	Entered Employment
Total Number	38,755	25,200	17,365	1,192
As %Participant	154%	100%	69%	4.7%
%Male	46	46	46	42
%Female	54	54	54	58
%Age 14-15	32	38	33	6
%Age 16-21	68	62	67	94
%Black	77	78	80	84
%Hispanic	18	17	15	13
%White	2	2	2	2
%Dropouts	11	7	8	6
%Student	70	78	74	65
%High School Grad	15	10	11	18
%LEP	2	2	1	0.3
%Teenage Parent	4	4	4	5
%Handicapped	3	3	2	0.5
%Non Labor Force	80	88	87	85
%AFDC Recipient	49	51	51	45

Sources: Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, JTPA Management Information System, "Target Population Characteristics, Title IIB," February 23, 1988.

Table 16. Program Cost Per Participant in JTPA Title IIB, Chicago

	1985-86
Cost per Participant	$ 900.98
Cost per Positive Termination	1,305.8
Cost per Entered Employment	18,920.6
Average Wage per Hour at Job Entry	3.66

Source: As cited in Table 9.

Table 17. Percent Distribution of Participants in Major Programs, JTPA Title IIB, Chicago

	1985-86	1986-87
Total Number	25,200	23,933
Academic	2.3%	2.0%
Vocational	1.0	2.7
Regular Work Experience	87.0	75.0
Job Search Assistance	1.0	10.9
Exemplary Youth	0	4.6
Pre-employment	0	2.5

Source: As cited in Table 9.

Table 18. An Analytical Scheme on the Determinants of Employment Outcomes

	Kinds of Supplemental Training (e.g. JTPA)	
	Provide direct contacts with a labor market (e.g. OJT, Job Search)	Training less oriented to labor market (e.g. basic, classroom vocational)
Formal Schooling Impact		
Educationally Advantaged (Graduates from high schools)	Most successful in placement-wage outcomes (A)	Moderately successful in placement-wage outcomes (B)
Educationally Disadvantaged (School Dropouts)	Moderately successful in placement-wage outcomes (C)	Least successful in placement-wage outcomes (D)

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